

## PRESIDENT CARNOT.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER AND EXAM-  
PLES OF HIS SERVICES TO FRANCE  
AS PRESIDENT.

London, June 26.

With the halo of martyrdom about his head the murdered President of the French Republic attains an immortality to which mere criticism has little to say. It is difficult even to attempt a cool judgment of his real character—either of the President or of the man. We have only to remember the emotion which the death of President Garfield caused; an emotion honorable to him and to his country. Some of the more cynical journalists say that little deep feeling is discernible in Paris. It is incredible. One's respect and liking for the French nation make it impossible to believe such an assertion. They owe a tribute to their dead chief. The civilized world owes one, and pays it. Europe knows very well that M. Carnot was a good President; honest, honorable, older wiser; a lover of France, but also a lover of peace and of European concord, and doing in the perplexing circumstances of many difficult hours much to secure both, and to put or to keep international relations on a safe footing. A just homage to his memory comes from every quarter of the globe. His name stands, and will always stand, so high that he can well afford to endure a more critical estimate than anybody would yet undertake.

If we look at President Carnot apart from his services to France and his official position he will appear rather a respectable than an interesting figure. He was not picturesque, not impressive, not even sympathetic, in presence of any great company of people. I have seen him in various circumstances; at the opening of the French Exhibition of 1889, at a military review at Versailles, at the Elysée on a great reception night, and elsewhere. You have to imagine to yourself a man rather below medium height, rather well made, rather good-looking, with a face and head of which the lines were regular enough, the eyes and hair and beard dark, and the prevailing expression or effect of the whole one of immobility. There seemed to be nothing spontaneous about him. Everything was considered and correct. He was correctly dressed, his hair and beard were correctly cut, as were his clothes; and he moved, though there was nothing military about him, with the precision and something of the stiffness of a soldier on parade. There was always a suggestion, that he had been taught, or had taught himself, to do the particular thing he was doing. Evidently, he got great store by deportment. He had a high idea of what became the Chief Magistrate of France, and he lived laboriously up to his ideal.

Nobody who ever met him or talked with him, or who came in contact with him in any way, would doubt that he had a perfectly honest character. Rectitude was stamped on his face, every line of it, and his look and bearing testified beyond mistake to his entire uprightness of purpose and of act. He was an honest man in a post which demanded honesty first of all. He would have been perfectly incapable of saying as Disraeli said when a new-comer in the House of Commons was described to him as, among other things, honest: "Oh, damn his honesty. We've very little use for that sort of thing here." He valued this trait of character in himself and in others. It had, however, one effect on him, and on his "tenue," which is not so uncommon as might be supposed. It led him to think certain things of less consequence than they really were. The Executive of a great nation does not live by honesty alone. He needs other great qualities, force of character, authority, commanding qualities, and the power of impressing himself on others and bending them to his will. It can hardly be said of Carnot that he possessed these. He had, however, firmness, and was extremely difficult to persuade or convince. His mind was not an open one; not flexible, not readily apprehensive of new conditions under which he was sometimes called on rather suddenly to take grave decisions.

He has had, for example, some eight or nine Parliamentary crises to deal with. It was not thought in France or here that he always took the constitutional view of his duties. Statesmen familiar with the theory of Parliamentary Government as practised in most European countries hold it to be the duty of the Head of the State when a Ministry is overthrown to send for the leader of the party by whom it is overthrown and ask him to form a new Ministry. M. Carnot did this sometimes, and sometimes did not. He would never send for M. Clemenceau. It is hard to blame him. Perhaps it is not necessary to blame him. He felt, and I think rightly felt, that M. Clemenceau was a danger to the State, and he preferred to disregard strict theories of constitutional and Parliamentary law rather than make a Socialist Radical President of the Council. It was quite useless to tell him that the surest way to use up M. Clemenceau was to ask him to form a Ministry; to explain that it was doubtful whether he would succeed, and to assure him that if he succeeded it was certain his Ministry would be short-lived. That was not M. Carnot's way of looking at things. It seemed to him safer to keep the Extremist outside. He did not care to recognize the Reds as a party in the country or their leader as within the pale of Ministerial politics. And so, while M. Clemenceau was the greatest figure in the Chamber, the unmaker if not the maker of Ministry after Ministry, the portfolio of President of the Council remained beyond his grasp.

The result was to alter the balance of powers in the Constitution. Parliamentary Government, as understood elsewhere in Europe, was superseded at times by Presidential Government, or, if not superseded, modified. The Chamber of Deputies became a less power and the President a greater power than was intended. It was a slight, though only a slight, approach to the American system. But the American system is one thing and the Parliamentary system another, and the two cannot be worked together. M. Carnot never made an attempt to carry on with a Ministry which had lost the confidence of the Chamber. He regarded a hostile vote of the Chamber as a sentence of death upon the Ministry at which it had been aimed. He could not do otherwise. But he shrank from the logical consequence when the logical consequence was M. Clemenceau. After a time Panama and M. Cornélius Herz saved him all further trouble with the rather too enterprising leader of the Left.

Equally narrow was M. Carnot's view in another direction. He conceived of the Republic as a government of the people by a part of the people. No doubt there was a period, and a long period, in the history of the Republican party in France when this was a necessary view. "A Republic without Republicans" was at one moment a true enough description of France, or as true as an epigram ever is. It was long true that the Republicans were in a minority, and true long after Thiers had recommended the Republic as "the form of government which divides us by the least." The Republic seemed to exist more by help of the inherent vitality of its principle than by support from without, or than by the loyalty of the French people—and especially French politicians—to the idea. It was a long time before the danger of a recrudescence of a Legitimist or Bonapartist majority vanished. Boulangerism was its last spatter, and Boulangerism excepted, it may be doubted whether at any time after M. Carnot's election to the Presidency in December, 1873, the danger was very great. But it remained real to him. Among the watchwords or catchwords which took the strongest hold on his mind was "concentration." What that meant was an electoral union of all the Republican groups against all the Legitimist, Orleanist and Bonapartist groups. That policy was steadily carried out, and was successful. The Republican majority in the Chamber grew steadily

greater at successive elections until finally it became overwhelming, and the Monarchists themselves saw that the game was up.

Then began the so-called "rallying" movement, a name which almost sounds as if borrowed from American politics. A strong section of the Monarchists "rallied" to the Republic. The Catholics were helped on by the Pope, the Royalists by the absence of a leader, and all by the conviction that the Republic was established and that men who wished to serve their country or cared for a political future had no choice but to accept the Republic. Moreover, it was still to be determined whether the Republic was to be conservative and lasting, or Socialist, and so the way of other experiments in anarchy, and the rallied Royalists were of course Conservative. They were ready to join hands with the Opportunists or Moderates, the body of which M. Carnot himself was in a sense the leader.

But to all this he was blind, or, if not blind, his prejudices were too inveterate to be overcome. He would have nothing to say to the rallied. He clung to concentration. He seemed really to believe that it was not only possible but for the interest of the Republic that it should be run by a party. He repelled the men who were ready to support it. Nobody was more alive than he was, as he showed again and again, to the dangers of Radicalism, of Socialist Radicalism above all. But he was haunted by the spectre of Royalism. He had seen it looking over his shoulder, and to him, long after most men perceived that it had been laid to rest, it remained a living and terrible being, with infinite capacity for mischief. The decrease of the Royalist minority of deputies and the very marked and alarming increase of Socialist deputies at the last election may have taught him a lesson, but if so, too late to be of use. He had, no doubt, a kind of patient sagacity, but not much foresight, not much statesmanship save of that negative kind which timidity is another name, and which, by force of clinging to what is, in dread of what may be, comes to be known as Conservatism.

If ever President Carnot's caution served him in good stead it was during the Panama crisis. There can be no doubt that he was struck at through Panama, and that a concerted attempt to discredit the Republic by discrediting the chief pillars of the Republic was then made. Intriguers of more parties than one were concerned in that ignominious cabal. There was a moment when it looked as if it might succeed, and when, if the attack on the President had come to anything, the whole fabric of government might have crumbled. Then, not for the first time but more clearly than ever, the value of M. Carnot's spotless integrity became clear. It is often the case in France—it has been so for more than a hundred years—that suspicion does the work of proof. The readiness of the French to believe ill of each other is a stain upon their national character and upon the race, but it is a trait which ever since the Revolution has passed from the atmosphere of courts, where it was bred, into the life of the people. Let loose a calumny and it will run its course. Few are the men who can stand against it. M. Carnot was one. He had been already for five years a target for the poisonous malice of the most licentious press in the world. Yet so complete was the conviction of his uprightness that scandal was a useless weapon against him, and Messrs. Drumont and Dettaille and their confederates perceived that they must allege something in the nature of evidence if they were to shake the popular belief in the President. They produced what they had and it was nothing. It was instantly confuted, though it needed no confuting, and when this had collapsed Paris stood waiting breathless for what was to follow. People could not believe the danger over, or that a conspiracy so infamous had been hatched out of such rotten eggs as these. But there was nothing more. The Republic was safe, and it was the stainless and unimpeachable name of its Chief Magistrate which had been the salvation of the State. He has rendered many other services to France, great services which will live in his memory. But this was greatest of all.

G. W. S.

THE DOMESTIC SIDE-LIFE AT THE ELY-  
SÉE—ENGLISH VIEWS OF THE PRESI-  
DENT AND OF THE ASSASSINATION.

London, June 27.

What the French liked in President Carnot was what the English like in the Queen: the domestic side of his life. He was a good husband and a good father. The domestic circle of the Elysée was known to be a happy one. The English will probably continue to believe to the end of time that the French have no homes and that family ties are weaker in France than here. The contrary is nevertheless true, and it was preeminently true in the case of the Carnot family. His household was well ordered. His servants liked him. He was considerate to his staff, to the officials with whom he came in contact, to everybody.

His immense elevation never turned his head, and I don't know that there is a better proof of his solidity of character than that. Human nature is too susceptible to these uplifting influences. Nothing is more common than to see a man raised, and especially if he be suddenly raised, to a great post, intoxicated by promotion. To the occupants of all such posts there comes necessarily a certain amount of deference; often of adulation. It is openly shown. The man has not been accustomed to it. He forgets to compute how large a part of it is shown to the office and how little is meant for the man. His predecessor had it, and much the same sort of homage will be offered with the same outward marks of respect to his successor, and to the successor who shall come after him, and so on. Yet the individual who for the time being happens to bear the title is flattered and apt to think some exceptional honor is shown to him individually.

Not so M. Carnot, although his election to the Presidency of the Republic, beyond question one of the most splendid positions in the world, lifted him out of something very like obscurity. He was a compromise candidate. He owed his election to that memorable afternoon of the 31 of December at Versailles, to the irreconcilable rivalry between M. Jules Ferry and M. de Freycinet, each of whom succeeded in making the success of the other impossible. True, M. Carnot had been twice Minister, but almost everybody in France has been Minister. He was the Franklin Pierce of French politics. The Radical, however, were the immediate instruments of his elevation. They not only hated, but dreaded Jules Ferry. They saw in him, and rightly, the incarnation of the principle of authority. He would have been King, Stork; they wanted King Log and they picked out M. Carnot for that part. They wanted a weak President whom they could mould to their own purposes, or, failing that, cajole or bully. Bitterly they were disappointed when they found that they had mistaken their man and that Carnot, though he might lack initiative and many other things, had an abundance of that quiet courage and unbending sense of duty which were so well fitted to baffle the enemies of the Government.

Neither abroad nor at home did President Carnot excite enthusiasm. It was not his mission in life to set pulses beating at fever heat. Nobody thought of him as a great President or a great popular leader, or as one of those men who sometimes gather up a great State in the hollow of the hand and launch it at some other Power, or take the lead in a crusade. If he had been a man of any one of those types, he would still have found himself curiously hampered by the Constitution under which he held office. A President of the French Republic has not a little of the power of a President of the United States. He is, to a very large extent, ornamental. He has to represent the Republic. It is an odd variation upon official duties but it is quite true that one part of his business was to make progress from time to time

through the country, and to visit great cities or important political centres. It was upon such an errand as this that he met his death; dying, as the German Emperor said, like a soldier on the battle field. The German Emperor is somewhat too prone to flourish his sword in the faces of mankind, and the military metaphor has its dangers, but on this occasion the Emperor said well, and the military metaphor was apt.

President Carnot's life at the Elysée has been much and deservedly praised. He had the good fortune to succeed M. Grévy, whose parsimony had become a by-word long before the Wilson scandal drove him from office. M. Grévy, already a rich man, became richer by his means. He had a large sum allotted him for hospitalities and social ceremonies and other expenses of what the French call "representation," much of which he put into his own well-filled pocket. M. Carnot reformed that. He entertained freely and gave freely. It has been said rather loosely since his death that he and Mme. Carnot had succeeded in making the Palace of the Elysée a social headquarters. It was hardly that. The Faubourg St. Germain and the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré remained still a long way apart. If anybody of great position accomplished the journey from the one to the other, the fact was noted and commented on. The tastes of neither the President nor his wife led them to compete with the social exclusiveness of the old aristocracy, nor to care very much, perhaps, whether they remained exclusive or not. He may have undervalued the political efficacy of social authority. He and his wife belonged to the upper middle class—the class out of which comes most that is best and most fruitful in France.

There was, indeed, something Democratic about the hospitalities of the Elysée. When the wife of the English Foreign Minister issues 2,500 invitations to a reception on the Queen's Birthday, the limits of the gracious are thought to have been reached. But the invitations to a reception at the Elysée have been known to exceed 6,000. It is a spacious Palace, though the corridors are rather narrow, but hardly spacious enough to give 6,000 guests ample room for circulation; or for the dances which followed. In one point it was not Democratic. Certain rooms were set apart for diplomatists and other distinguished personages. Into these the Democracy might not penetrate, and there were occasionally signs that they resented their exclusion. They need not have resented it. The diplomatists were packed almost as tightly as the rest. Diplomats and Democracy had, moreover, the same reception from the President and Mme. Carnot. The patience of the Presidential host and hostess was admirable and so was their evident effort to convey to each unit of those thronging thousands, personally unknown, most of them, the impression that he or she was welcome, and that their coming on such an occasion was a personal favor. The French passion for equality was gratified to the full. It was impossible that these huge crushes should be what was called brilliant. They had a better use. They gave pleasure to those whom they were intended to please. And they afforded an excellent opportunity to the American on her travels to see how badly Frenchwomen of the middle class can dress when they try.

What has been said in England of the murder and of the victim of this latest Anarchist outrage has been, for the most part, well said. The indignation is genuine, the respect for President Carnot is general and profound, the sympathy with France is genuine. On the whole, one might hope that it would promote a better feeling on the part of France toward England, and between the animosity which the French cherish and which of late has been growing more bitter, more explosive, more dangerous. The demonstration of English good will does seem to make an impression. One can only hope it will be lasting.

The only two English papers which go into mourning are the "Chronicle" and the "Sun." They are the two whose teachings do most to promote the spirit which has expressed itself in the assassination of the President of the French Republic at Lyons. They are the two chief organs of Socialism, of discontent with things as they are, of the attack on society, of the attack on property. However, I am not a frequent reader of the "Sun" and it may be I have changed on days when it is more violent than usual. Let us leave the "Sun" out of the question.

But about the "Chronicle" there can be no mistake. This paper deserves all the thanks of the violent, whether they call themselves Anarchists or not. It is not an open champion of Anarchy, nor I suppose, consciously, a champion at all. But between the doctrines of the Collectivist Anarch and the doctrines and practice of Anarchy there is an unbroken chain, from which no link is missing. It is but the distance, the road yet to be travelled, which makes the connection seem remote. Of course it condemns the murder of President Carnot, and condemns it in terms all the stronger for the lurking suspicions of unliking conspiracy which must haunt the minds of its conductors and writers. In a day or two the momentarily damned-up waters of Socialist rhetoric will again break loose in their usual turbid flood. Yet even in their lament for a murdered President are strange gleams of sympathy for his assassin or for the cause which that assassin represents. We are asked to contrast the murder of the head of a free State with that of a despot. The two murders have "little in common," says the "Journal." From which it appears we are to infer that if one be hateful the other is commendable, or to say the least, less hateful. Says the amazing "Chronicle":

No one is much surprised when prolonged suffering of the people results in the murder of an absolute tyrant.

The form of the sentence is cautious; the thought in the mind of the writer is only too clear. The murder of an absolute tyrant is an incident he could contemplate without surprise, and perhaps without disapproval. I do not wish to strain the meaning beyond what it will bear. I draw the conclusions which I think most readers would draw. If they have any doubts they will probably disappear when, a moment later, this same writer is discovered describing the assassination of President Carnot as a "political opportunity." The difference between the President of the Republic and Santo is a method of political opposition. Society on the one side—Anarchy on the other. To most men in the world the gulf that separates them is merely political, and everybody in France has been Minister. He was the Franklin Pierce of French politics. The Radical, however, were the immediate instruments of his elevation. They not only hated, but dreaded Jules Ferry. They saw in him, and rightly, the incarnation of the principle of authority. He would have been King, Stork; they wanted King Log and they picked out M. Carnot for that part. They wanted a weak President whom they could mould to their own purposes, or, failing that, cajole or bully. Bitterly they were disappointed when they found that they had mistaken their man and that Carnot, though he might lack initiative and many other things, had an abundance of that quiet courage and unbending sense of duty which were so well fitted to baffle the enemies of the Government.

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Their motives need not be impugned. I for one believe them to be excellent, and that the mischief they do is in proportion to the goodness of their motives.

G. W. S.

## SWINBURNE'S TRIBUTE TO CARNOT.

From The Nineteenth Century.

Death, winged with fire of hate from deathless hell,  
Wherein the souls of anarchy have died,  
With stroke as dire has chosen a heart so high  
As twice beyond the wide sea's westward swell  
The living lust of death had power to quell.  
Through minutes of victorious hands whereby  
Dark fate had Lincoln's head and Garfield's lie,  
Low even as his who bids his France farewell.

France, now no heart that would not weep with thee,  
Loved thee for faith or freedom, from thy hand  
The staff of State is broken; hope, unmanned  
With anguish, doubts if freedom's self be free.  
The snake-skin of anarchy's fang strikes all the land,  
And all hearts unsundered by the sea.

## BEAUTIFUL ANNABEL LEE.

SHE IS A GOOD TALKER AND SOME PEOPLE  
THINK SHE IS WISER THAN HER YEARS.

This is a story about a parrot, and it is written in the belief, formed after carefully watching the bird and studying her actions, that if she does not actually think, she at least relies upon something more than instinct to govern her actions. Her name is Annabel Lee. She is always called "Polly."

"If you say to a parrot that it is worth owning," Polly would answer, "Polly will answer, 'There is nothing extraordinary in that, for a parrot is a mimic, and it is its nature to imitate the sounds which it hears. But Annabel Lee (who is never called that except when she is introduced) has been taught to make a different reply."

"Polly want a cracker?" you ask.  
"Yeth, thir," answers Annabel Lee. Annabel Lee says.

Well, that answer may be taught to a parrot, but it comes to be mimicry, for she learned the "Yeth, thir," long ago, and it is never repeated to her.

Annabel Lee knows how to crow. You need not crow and wait for her to imitate you.

"Crow, Polly," you say, and Annabel lifts her voice and crows in a way that would make the scree of a barnyard rooster turn green.

The parrot, which serves for a throne for this mimicked beauty is carried around the house at the pleasure of the members of the family. Talk to Annabel Lee when she is in the room with you, and she likes it well enough. Forget her, neglect her, pay her no attention at all, and you hurt her feelings. She sits on her perch and moans and mopes and looks as if she were dying.

Miss Lee, getting tired of too much silence, "Ah, there, Joe!"

Joe is the name of a woman. Her relatives, who are not in the habit of calling her names, have degraded Joe into "Joe" and "Joey." The mistress of the house has become Fannie. You have heard a woman in the country who has gone into the back yard for a few minutes and returned with a disheveled hair and a run away to go swimming. She begins to call him. His name is Joe. "Joe, Joe, Joe," she calls, and she pitches the high as she can pitch it. Then she pitches the high as she can pitch it. Then she pitches the high as she can pitch it. Then she pitches the high as she can pitch it.

"John, natchee," she cries.  
When Annabel Lee and her mistress are in a room together, and the latter leaves the room unattended, Annabel Lee, under cover of her mistress's absence, will utter a series of sounds, mumbles, herself, and lifts her voice.

"Fannie, natchee," she calls. If Fannie answers her as she usually does, she will answer her in a similar way. She will utter a series of sounds, mumbles, herself, and lifts her voice.

One of these examples could be given to show that Annabel Lee is not merely a mimic, one further illustration will suffice to show that she approaches near the truth in her mimicry. The parrot, which serves for a throne for this mimicked beauty is carried around the house at the pleasure of the members of the family. Talk to Annabel Lee when she is in the room with you, and she likes it well enough. Forget her, neglect her, pay her no attention at all, and you hurt her feelings. She sits on her perch and moans and mopes and looks as if she were dying.

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When Annabel Lee and her mistress are in a room together, and the latter leaves the room unattended, Annabel Lee, under cover of her mistress's absence, will utter a series of sounds, mumbles, herself, and lifts her voice.

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